

# VITAL ISSUES of the Day Are Considered and DISCUSSED on Prominent and Live Topics BY EXPERTS

## HOAR. MASSACHUSETTS SENATOR AGAINST BRYANISM.

No Confidence in a Party that Denies Self-Government.

The Real Issue is the Preservation of National Financial Honor and Not Whether Aguinaldo Shall Succeed.

(By Hon. George F. Hoar, United States Senator.)

I am asked to state briefly why I think anti-imperialists should vote for President McKinley this fall. There is in my judgment such a thing as imperialism, and such a thing as anti-imperialism. The imperialist says the Philippine Islands are ours. The anti-imperialist says the Philippine Islands belong to the Philippine people. The imperialists say we will establish for them the best government we think they are fit for. The anti-imperialists say they have a right to establish for themselves such a government as they think good and fit for themselves.

Now, President McKinley made the treaty, and Mr. Bryan, when his defeat was assured, came to Washington and saved it. These two great political leaders, between whom you are to take your choice, are equally responsible for everything that has happened so far. When the treaty became the law of the land, the public faith was pledged to pay \$20,000,000 for sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and that Congress, and not the people, should dispose of them hereafter. It became the constitutional duty of the President, until Congress should act, or declare otherwise, to reduce them to order and submission. The Supreme Court of the United States so held long ago. The only difference up to this point between President McKinley and Mr. Bryan is that President McKinley believed he was doing right, belonged to a party which had always been, as he himself had been, the champion of political liberty, in the past, and is right on all of the other questions that are at stake in the coming election, and is fit to be trusted with all new questions that shall arise. On the other hand, Mr. Bryan thought the whole transaction wrong, makes some thin and frivolous excuses for his conduct, and the party with whom he acts; and the men who surround him and will surround him as his counselors are men who have been the opponents of righteousness, equality and civil liberty always in the past, are wrong on all the other great questions that are at stake in the present election, and are not, in my judgment, to be trusted with new questions, however important or vital, that are to come up in the future.

In the matter of imperialism there has been little practical difference between President McKinley and Mr. Bryan in the past. There will be little practical difference in the future. Mr. Bryan does not even promise to use his power as executive and commander-in-chief in calling our troops from the Philippines. He only promises to call Congress together. He knows very well he cannot command even the strength of his own party to undo the mischief which seventeen of his own followers in the Senate, at his own instance, wrought when they ratified the treaty—Messrs. McEnery, McLaurin, Morgan, Pettus, Sullivan, Allen, Butler, Harris, Teller, Kyle and Jones (of Nevada)—have not changed their minds. Possibly Mr. Clay of Georgia and Mr. Kenney of Delaware among his associates have done so. It is hopeless, even if the Democrats get a tie, or even a majority in the Senate, to expect them to accomplish anything in behalf of the independence of the Philippine Islands.

In 1896 you regarded Mr. Bryan's campaign as a "passionate crusade of dishonor." You said its success would bring with it not only adversity, but disgrace. Would its success not bring disgrace now? Mr. Bryan said at Topeka that if he were elected the free coinage of silver should be accomplished before another presidential election. Secretary Gage says he can lawfully accomplish it by executive power alone. Whether Mr. Gage is right in his construction of the powers of the President under existing law, I will not undertake to say. But I will undertake to say that Mr. Bryan will not hesitate to use that power if he has the great authority of Mr. Gage for its lawfulness. I do not believe the man who promoted the ratification of the Spanish treaty means business in this matter of the Philippine Islands. But I do believe he means business in the matter of the free coinage of silver, in the matter of free trade, and in his purpose to reconstruct the Supreme Court. He means bad business. He means business which will overthrow prosperity and embarrass manufacture; which will reduce wages and destroy credit; which will debase the currency and render the standard of value uncertain; which will impair the obligation of contracts and the value of savings; which will hurt our credit and break our faith. All this you believe, as I do. You said so in 1896. You have been confirmed in your opinion by everything that has happened since. Will you support a candidate who, if he have his way, you admit will accomplish all these things, because he and his party give you an empty promise of justice to 10,000,000 Asiatics, and at the same time threaten grievous injustice and wrong to 10,000,000 Americans?

I will not vote for a candidate for the presidency, or help to bring a party into power who, while they plant one heel on the forehead of Booker Washington, and the other on the forehead of Robert Small, wave the flag over Aguinaldo and Mabini.

GEORGE F. HOAR, Worcester, Mass.

## HORNBLOWER. NATIONAL HONOR OVER COLONIAL QUESTIONS.

Why Judge Hornblower Declines to Support Bryan.

Opinion of a Leading New York Jurist Whose Elevation to the Supreme Bench Was Beaten by D. B. Hill.

(By Judge William B. Hornblower of New York.)

Judge William B. Hornblower of New York, who was nominated to the Supreme bench of the United States by President Cleveland, and whose confirmation was beaten in the Senate for purely personal causes by David B. Hill, has made the following statement why he, a Democrat, cannot support Bryan:

I have been repeatedly asked during the past few weeks what, in my judgment, is the duty of a Gold Democrat who is also an Anti-Imperialist, in the pending presidential campaign. The question is by no means a simple one, and I can well understand and appreciate the position taken by such men as Mr. Schurz, Mr. Shepard and Mr. Olney. For my own part, however, I cannot see my way clear to reaching their conclusions. The same reasons which compelled me to oppose Mr. Bryan in 1896 compel me to oppose him in the present campaign. All the heresies, financial and Populistic, which were embodied in the un-Democratic, crazy-quilt platform of 1896 are re-adopted without any attempt at modification or mollification by the Kansas City platform. The 16 to 1 plank is expressly reaffirmed and redeclared, and this at the instance of Mr. Bryan himself. I cannot support a candidate who still adheres to a proposition which, to my mind, is a monstrosity and which, if carried into effect, would in my judgment produce untold disaster to all classes of the community and bring dishonor and humiliation to our nation. The fact, if it be a fact, that recent legislation has made it difficult for Mr. Bryan to carry into practice his avowed principles does not, it seems to me, make it any the more right to vote for a man who still maintains these principles. It is quite within the possibilities that during his administration, if he should be elected, a complete change might be effected in the political composition of both houses of Congress, and the verdict of the people expressed at the polls in favor of Mr. Bryan's election as President might be carried into effect. It will certainly be Mr. Bryan's duty, according to his expressed declaration, to do what in him lies to bring about this result.

It is not to be forgotten that Mr. Bryan is not only the candidate of what is left of the Democratic party, but he is the candidate also of the Populist party, and has accepted the nomination on their platform. The radical notions of the Populists, if ever carried into effect in this country, would reduce popular government to a position where we should be the laughing stock of the nations, and would produce a reaction in the minds of the voters which would carry us far in the direction of domestic imperialism, which I suppose will be conceded to be of vastly more moment to us and to our posterity than colonial imperialism. Indeed, the chief objection to colonial imperialism is its probable effect upon our domestic institutions, and its tendency towards enlarging the powers of the executive as between the executive and the legislative departments of the government, and towards increasing the powers of the Federal government as between itself and the States.

The question as to what is the "paramount issue" in this campaign is one on which men may honestly differ. It seems to me, however, that the most important issue before us at the present moment is whether our domestic affairs are to be thrown into confusion and exposed to disaster. The rights and wrongs of our colonial possessions must in this emergency be subordinated to the rights and wrongs of our own affairs.

Furthermore, I am by no means satisfied that Mr. Bryan would be a safe person to whom to intrust the imperialistic questions which will confront us in the future. In my judgment he ought to have made his fight at the time when the treaty with Spain was before the Senate. He should have upheld the hands of such dissenting Republicans as Senator Hoar, and he should have opposed to the bitter end the principle of buying foreign peoples without their consent and in the midst of a war for independence on their part. By supporting the treaty Mr. Bryan made himself a party to its compact, and is, more than any other one man, except Mr. McKinley, responsible for the situation. The treaty was ratified, the purchase money was paid, the islands are in our possession. In my judgment, the question of their future, and of our future, as determined indirectly by their future, must wait until we have settled the question of the present, and that question is whether honesty, integrity and a common sense shall be applied to the financial affairs of the United States, or whether popular approval shall be given to the vagaries, whims, and fallacies of the Populists and Bryanites, with all the resulting disaster and dishonor.

WILLIAM B. HORNBLOWER, New York, Sept. 18.

"What I denounce is a Protective Tariff. It is false economy and the most vicious political principle that has ever cursed this country."—William Jennings Bryan in a speech in the House of Representatives, 1894, advocating the passage of the Wilson-Gorman Free Trade Tariff Law.

## SCOTT. SOUTHERN PROGRESS UNDER PROTECTION.

Improvement Directly Traceable to Protection.

Acknowledged and Understood by Southern Business Men and Planters, Whose Sympathies Are with Republicanism.

(By Hon. N. B. Scott, United States Senator, of West Virginia.)

The South is the citadel of Democracy in this country; it has also always been the citadel of free trade. Twenty-five years ago a protectionist Southerner was almost as rare as a white blackbird. The overthrow of the old Whig party had practically eradicated that element of political society in that section. But since then a great change has been gradually going on. The growth of protectionist sentiment in the South during the last quarter century is one of the most important developments of recent political history.

It is a fact susceptible of ample proof that whenever we have had a protective tariff the whole country, North and South, has prospered, and whenever we have had a low tariff, or practically free trade, the country has suffered from hard times.

In every branch of productive industry that can be panned there has been

## EAMES. AMERICANS ARE NATURAL PIONEERS.

We Must Advance Commercially, Being Producers.

Must Seek Markets Elsewhere and Create New Openings for Our Goods—Expansion Natural in a Nation's Life.

(By John C. Eames, of the H. B. Claflin Co., of New York.)

How any man at all interested in the advancement and welfare of this great country can preach the doctrine of anti-expansion is more than I can understand. Anti-expansion means contraction, or at least that would be the result. Unless we seek markets for our goods outside of the limits of our own country we cannot advance commercially. We are a country of producers. Not only do we draw from nature's bountiful supplies of the ground, but, by using the ingenuity Providence has given us, we have demonstrated that we can by modern machinery turn out more manufactured goods than we can use. Therefore we must not only seek markets elsewhere, but we must create new markets for our productions. To do this our country must have at least a foothold in other countries, commercially at least.

## WARREN. WHAT REPUBLICANISM HAS DONE IN WYOMING.

Miners and Stockraisers Are Receiving Good Returns.

Senator Warren Tells Why the West Will Return Good Majorities for McKinley and Roosevelt This Year.

(By Hon. Francis E. Warren, United States Senator.)

The people of Wyoming are vitally and intensely interested in the outcome of the present campaign. Wyoming has been a State but a little over eight years, and of this period four years each of Democratic and Republican government have served to impress upon the minds of its people two distinct and impressive object lessons. The first period was during the Democratic administration from 1893 to 1896 inclusive, in which we suffered so severely in business matters and when our material conditions were confessedly so devoid of hope that as we look back it all seems like a hideous nightmare.

The second period of four years is that formed by the McKinley administration. At the outset of it we were awakened to life and hope. During this time our industries, depressed and unprofitable under Democratic policies, have become prosperous and our business ventures remunerative and satisfactory. The ranches, farms, cattle, sheep, mines and railroads of our State all give substantial returns to the capital and labor expended upon them, and our people, instead of being constant borrowers, are now paying their debts and becoming lenders.

Bryan's scare heads—"Expansion, Imperialism and Militarism"—are not an issue of the campaign in Wyoming. This State is the product of expansion. Every foot of its area of 97,000 square miles was formed from territory acquired by acts of expansion such as the Louisiana purchase, the seizure of the Oregon country, the Mexican treaty, and the California purchase, and all this without the consent of the governed.

One of our Wyoming volunteers who, when the war broke out, was a leading Democratic politician of the State, who went to the Philippines as a private and through merit won a commission, recently wrote home as follows: "I would like to be home so that I could vote against Bryan. I hope he will be defeated so badly that the bugaboo word 'Imperialism' will never be heard again."

The chief industries in Wyoming are live stock raising, farming, coal mining and railroad operation. Sheep, cattle and horse raising form the greatest industry of the State. During the four years of Democratic administration, and under the direct operations of the Wilson tariff law, the condition of the sheep and wool industry in Wyoming was appalling. Sheep brought less than one dollar a head; wool sold for five cents and sometimes less per pound, and mutton shipments would scarcely realize the railroad freight to market. During that four years the highest annual assessed valuation of all the sheep in the State was \$1,308,000.

But with the McKinley administration and the Dingley tariff of 1897 sheep, which could scarcely find a purchaser at a dollar a head, now sell for four dollars. Wool now brings from fourteen to seventeen cents. Mutton now sells for from four to six cents a pound on foot. And the assessed valuation of sheep in Wyoming is now \$5,426,493, a gain in four years of over 300 per cent.

The contrast between the cattle industry under Democratic and Republican administrations is almost as startling. From 1893 to 1897 depression and ruin was the rule. But, as in the sheep business, the election of McKinley and inauguration of Republican policies wrought a marvelous change. Mixed herds of cattle for the past three years have sold for thirty to thirty-five dollars a head; calves bring fifteen to twenty dollars a head, and steers now net the cattle raiser from forty-five to fifty-five dollars each. The assessed valuation of cattle in the State now amounts to \$6,154,000 and is rapidly increasing.

Under the past four years of Republicanism, Wyoming has grown to be an important factor among the coal-producing States. During the four years of Democratic rule, with the same number of mines as at present, the annual production was 2,439,311 tons as against 4,500,000 tons per annum during the past two years of the McKinley administration. The increase in production means more miners, more days worked, better pay.

The most hopeful feature of Wyoming's business condition is to be found in the fact that its local banks now carry the credits of its business people. The deposits of Wyoming banks have increased four-fold in the past four years and the number of depositors has increased five-fold. Western banks are now as independent of the East as the East is of Europe, and it will be difficult, I think, for Mr. Bryan to convince our people that this comfortable state of affairs is not due directly to the wise and patriotic policy of the Republican party.

In 1896, when four years of depression and disaster had almost driven our people to despair, Bryan carried the State by about 250 plurality. Now if the people will spare time from business, from the ranch and from the mine to go to the polls, this plurality will not only be lost to Mr. Bryan, but the McKinley and Roosevelt electors will carry the State by a substantial majority.

FRANCIS E. WARREN, United States Senator, Cheyenne, Wyo.

## BALDWIN. CONSOLIDATING ROADS ASSISTS THE EMPLOYEES.

Better Chance for Railroad Men than Ever Before.

A Return to the Old System of High Freights, High Fares and Jerk-water Railroads is an Impossibility.

(By William H. Baldwin, Jr., President of the Long Island Railroad.)

To appreciate the significance of the value of railroad consolidation to the public, it is only necessary to attempt to conceive of a return to former conditions. The small independent railroads, with their relatively small number of employees, each road with its own standards of equipment dependent upon the idiosyncrasies of its principal officers or directors; each road with responsibilities to the public as a carrier only to the extent of its own short line—all these limitations suggest a local independence which would permit to the railroad the employment of labor on the basis of "supply" for its small demands.

On the other hand, the gradual growth of large systems composed of many such small lines produces a new and constantly growing responsibility to the public, until finally a point is reached where the law of supply and demand affects but remotely the skilled labor necessary in transportation service. The function performed by railroads has become too important to the body politic to permit of any solution of these serious labor and wage questions, except by intelligent consideration on the part of the representatives both of the management and of the employees.

The effect of consolidation has brought many good results to the employees: An increased ability on the part of the railroads to pay higher wages; to employ more men; an improvement in standards of tracks and equipment, which has reduced the hours for a day's work and has made the service less dangerous. It has also made the employment of men in the service more regular throughout the year and thus kept together a regular force, and has developed a code of standard rules, governing the army of employees, which have dignified their employment and made more permanent their positions.

The saving by consolidation is due to the ability to develop business economically. Conversely, the business of any trunk line to-day could not be handled by a series of independent lines with varying standards, at the present rates which are profitable to the larger lines. With the improved efficiency and economy of transportation, rates have constantly declined and traffic has been continually developed. With increased density of traffic, the number of employees has been increased in proportion and has been paid a higher wage. The improved facilities and higher speed of trains have made the day's work for a trainman, not one hundred miles as a maximum, but as a minimum, so that to-day, with high speed trains, the trainman may earn in two hours' time a wage higher than he earned in earlier days in five hours' time. Even though the wage per mile run were the same to-day as in past years, the actual work which the trainman can physically do within reasonable hours is oftentimes 100 per cent greater. The locomotive engineer of to-day may average easily one hundred and seventy-five miles per day, and at an increased rate of pay over the one-hundred-mile day of the past.

In railroads, more than in any class of labor in this country, we have seen the results of wise leadership on the part of the trade unions. Both capital and labor aim at monopoly; the best result is obtained only when intelligent counsel prevails. The railroads are moving on toward greater consolidations and with constantly increasing benefit to their million employees and to the public. More and more each year the managements of railroads acknowledge their public duties, more and more each year the operation of railroads is becoming a governmental function, so that, as I see it, the best condition will be reached when the relations between the government and the railroads are intelligently defined, with the management and operation left in the hands of private persons. The ideal condition is to so operate the railroads as to approach an ideal governmental operation and yet to retain the ownership in private capital.

The history of railroad wages has shown that the public has been willing always to recognize the responsibilities of railroad men, and has given its sympathy to them in their reasonable demands. The employees, as a rule, have shown an intelligent understanding of the reasonable wage, and when they have not acted fairly and wisely they have not been supported by the public, have been refused their demands by the railroads and have learned that reason must prevail.

WM. H. BALDWIN, JR., New York.

REMEMBER!

"If there is anyone who believes the Gold Standard is a good thing, or that it must be maintained, I warn him not to cast his ballot for me, because I promise him it will not be maintained in this country longer than I am able to get rid of it."—William Jennings Bryan in a speech at Knoxville, Tenn., Sept. 16, 1898.



increased activity and increased profit during McKinley's administration as compared with the previous low tariff of Cleveland's administration. In these benefits the South has fully participated and shared equally with the North. All this progress, improvement and profit is due mainly to the Republican protective tariff, operating according to the fixed gold standard.

The change of opinion among the Southern business men in regard to the principle of the tariff and other fundamental business principles during the present campaign has been wonderful; in fact, quite revolutionary.

In West Virginia the feeling in favor of protection is very strong; in fact, the inhabitants realize that the Republican tariff on coal and iron has been the making of the State. The farmers of the State also appreciate the rise in prices of farm products, which they see is due not so much to bountiful crops as to a good market for those crops. The recent tremendous increase in the foreign demand for American coal is also appreciated at its full value by the West Virginia people, and they are fully aware that it has been rendered possible by the protection afforded to home products by the Dingley tariff.

The banking house of Hambleton & Co. of Baltimore, all of the members of which are prominent Democrats, have come out with a circular to their clients and correspondents all over the South, in which they advocate the defeat of Bryan and the re-election of McKinley, on account of the great benefits to the South which have accrued from the workings of the Republican financial and commercial policy during the last four years.

In brief, no section of the country has had a larger share of the general prosperity during the present administration than the South, and it has been due mainly to the operation of the Republican tariff and currency laws, as the Southern business men now understand and acknowledge. Never before in the history of the United States has the output of the Southern iron ore and pig-iron, lumber, coal and coke, been so large as it has been in the past two years; and not for years, if ever, have the prices been so high. Never before was so large a proportion of Southern products shipped from Southern ports. Never before has money loaned there at such low interest. All this has occurred under the gold standard and the protective tariff. A few years ago the South had practically no manufactures; it has now over \$1,000,000,000 invested in factories, paying over \$350,000,000 in wages, and producing between \$1,500,000,000 and \$2,000,000,000 products yearly. Most of this increase has been secured under the present administration, and is directly due to the operation of the Republican policies.

N. B. SCOTT, New York.

Our occupancy of Cuba and Porto Rico has assured us of the greater part of the trade with those islands. The influence for good has not stopped there, but it has extended to all the Spanish-speaking countries of America. Inquiries from these countries for American goods and manufactures are becoming more numerous every day.

I wish to say right here from my own knowledge of the business men in Cuba, and from what they have said to me personally, that I am sure that their confidence in us alone was what made them continue business on the islands and feel that there was a future for them. Without an exception the business men from Havana and other cities in Cuba have stated frankly to me that if the United States should withdraw entirely from Cuba they themselves would feel obliged to go out of business; that all business confidence would be shaken.

Speaking especially of fabrics manufactured from cotton, think how important it is that we find new markets for our cotton goods. Of the nine to twelve millions of bales of raw cotton produced in this country two-thirds of it is exported and made up into cotton cloth abroad. The exportation of the raw material in itself is an immense factor in our foreign trade and commerce, but how much better it would be, instead of sending two-thirds of the raw cotton abroad and using one-third in manufacturing goods in this country, to export one-third and use two-thirds here, exporting the finished product, thereby doubling the number of our mills and factories and giving employment to twice the number of operatives.

It is not probable that we will ever gain very much of a foothold on Chinese shores, for it does not seem to be the desire of the people of this country at large that we should expand to that extent. But we have the Philippine Islands, practically forced upon us by circumstances, which in the near future will prove to be one of the most valuable territorial acquisitions that we have made since the original thirteen States were organized. Not only can we, in time, supply the seven or eight million inhabitants of those islands with practically everything that they do not raise or manufacture themselves, but we can use the islands as a stepping-stone to Asiatic countries. The majority of the large Hongkong and Shanghai houses already have branches in Manila, as well as representatives in New York; this will complete the chain of commercial intercourse between this country and China.

What we need to expand our trade and commerce with other countries is a broad and liberal policy by this government such as the present administration has adopted.

JOHN C. EAMES, New York.